

THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

SOME

FACTS AND REFLECTIONS

FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

"Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you do ye even so unto them."

BY AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Victor, Orrille James.

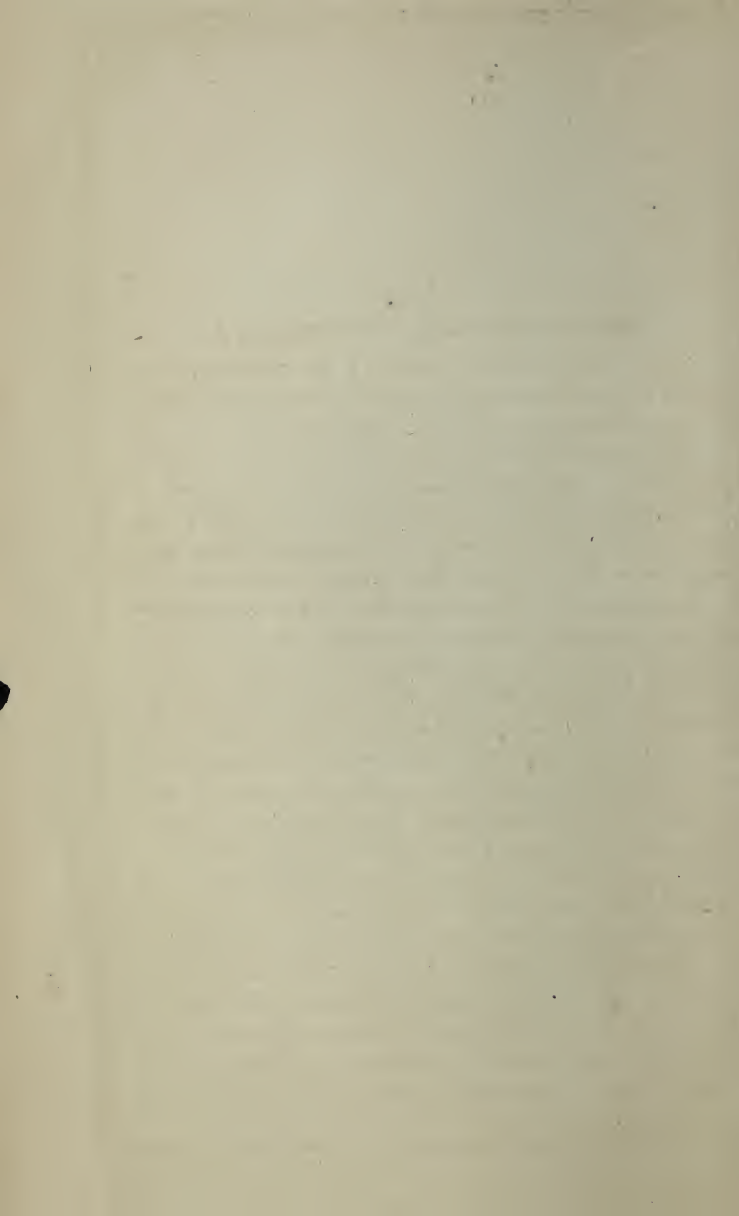
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THAT the relations existing between Great Britain and America hang upon a thread is a fact painfully apparent. The attitude of the American press is unmistakable. Aggrieved at the apparent apathy of the *people* of the Kingdom, maddened by the bad faith and miserable pettifogging of the London *Times*, uncompromisingly hostile to the recognition, by the Ministry, of our rebellious States as a "belligerent power," it is evident that the *entente cordiale* of the two nations is in danger of disruption.

To avert such a calamity should be the earnest desire of every true Englishman, as it certainly is the desire of every reflecting, intelligent American. To do away with misconceptions—to restore the amity and brotherly feeling which the late visit of the Prince of Wales, to American shores, so happily confirmed, after three generations of alienation and national jealousy—is the purpose of this little appeal from an American citizen, loyal to the Union and devoted to the cause of humanity and the Right.

V.



I.

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE REBELLION.

WRITING to a friend in England, a few weeks since, we answered his anxious inquiries as to the causes of the sudden uprising of the cotton producing States, as follows:—

“The idea of a *Southern Confederacy* is John C. Calhoun’s pet bantling. He always avowed the “irrepressible conflict” doctrine between slave and free labor, and devoted all his Herculean powers to showing the slaveholding South how vastly better an independent slave confederacy would be than to pay tribute to Northern institutions. The extraordinary progress of the Free States in population has had its effect upon congressional representation, and it became evident, before the census of 1860, that, if the South would maintain its *control of Congress*, it must thwart the onward march of the Free States, since the Slave States really were retrogressing. The Missouri Compromise was repealed, accordingly, at their behest, in order to force slavery into Kansas, and possibly Nebraska. That repeal was the tombstone of all compromise. You know its results. Kansas is to-day a *free* State, and is so represented on the floors of Congress. The revulsion of sentiment, which followed upon the outrages perpetrated by the slave power, elected Mr. Lincoln, whose overwhelming majorities prove how immensely preponderating is the Free State element in this country when the actual vote is taken. This is not only indicated in the votes polled, but also in the census returns for 1860, which go to show that the North has

made gigantic strides in population and wealth, while the South has progressed but slowly, some of its older States actually having stood still or retrogressed. This fact, then, of a *Northern numerical majority*, which would forever hereafter give the *North* the *controlling influence* of a majority in Congress, is the cause, the sole secret, of the sudden precipitation of the Southern States from the Union; they nevermore, under a Constitution which allows the majority to rule, can control the House or even the Senate—hence secession, and a confederacy, where slavery shall rule and control its own affairs unrestrictedly.”

Beyond controversy this is the sole cause of the attempted revolution—a revolution fully determined upon by the present Secessionists’ leaders as far back as 1858. Jefferson Davis, the present “president” (not of the Southern *people*, for *THEY never have been allowed to vote directly upon the question of Southern independence!*) of the “Confederacy,” gave utterance to the following sentiments, in a speech at Jackson, Miss., in the fall of that year:—

“If an abolitionist be chosen President of the United States, you will have presented to you the question of whether you will permit the Government to pass into the hands of your avowed and implacable enemies? Without pausing for an answer, I will state my own position to be that *such a result would be a species of revolution by which the purposes of the Government would be destroyed, and the observance of its mere forms entitled to no respect. In that event, in such manner as should be most expedient, I should deem it your duty* TO PROVIDE FOR YOUR SAFETY OUTSIDE OF THE UNION, with those who have already shown the will, and would have acquired the power, to deprive you of your birthright, and to reduce you to worse than the colonial dependence of your fathers.”

This covers the ground:—if the Free State party—the party opposed to allowing slavery a foothold in the free territories of the United States, and to granting it formal *protection*

there—always termed by Southern orators "Abolitionists"—should prove their numerical majority, and, by exercising their constitutional right, should vote for and elect their President—*then* the Southern States must "provide for their safety outside the Union." *Since* this uprising the leaders and presses of the South have talked and written, in general terms, of their "long endured wrongs"—"the outrages of the North"—"the inconceivable injuries heaped upon Southern rights;" but, after seeking sedulously for a category of those wrongs we fail to discover anything to sustain the allegations. The whole matter resolves itself into the simple form of Davis' statement, that *the election of a Republican President would justify an attempt to break up the Union.*

The English public have been informed, by such of their presses as sympathize with the principle of property in man through their love of King Cotton, that there *have* been wrongs perpetrated by the North against the South. It is a sufficient reply to demand of them a summary of these "wrongs." If *correctly* stated it will be somewhat as follows:

1. The Constitution gives the rule to the majority—thus depriving the Slave States of their hitherto control of the Government in consequence of the rapid increase of free population and free States.

2. The Constitution does not contain the word *Slave*.

3. The Constitution does not give the slave-owner power to carry his "property" into the territories.

4. The Constitution makes the slave-trade on the high seas *piracy*.

5. The Northern States declare the Fugitive Slave Law *unconstitutional* because it gives the slave-owner power to catch his runaway "chattel" on their free soil.

6. The Northern people, being in the majority, will *forever prohibit* the extension of slavery into the territories, and will,

likewise, prohibit any fillibustering upon Mexico, Cuba, or Central America, to unlawfully seize more soil for *slaves* to cultivate.

These are the "wrongs:"—if others exist they have not yet been discovered. That we do not misstate the matter we may quote from the New York *Express*, which, up even to the present moment is a pro-slavery and anti-Republican organ. In answer to some strictures of "A Southerner" it said:—

"The 'Stars and Stripes' have never yet been used to oppress the South. The Federal Government is not charged even with ever having done harm to the South, but on the contrary, the charge of the Republicans is, that the 'Stars and Stripes' have ever been used to serve the cause of the South, and 'the slavery of the South.' The Federal Government, until within thirty days, has been in Southern hands for years and years. General Pierce was the predecessor of Mr. Buchanan, and both were Southern administrations; and under Mr. Fillmore, though a Northern man, the equitable, constitutional rights of the South were better protected than they would have been, even if General Taylor had lived. Indeed, Mr. Buchanan wrongfully used the 'Stars and Stripes' in Kansas to serve supposed Southern interests. The South has made no charge, and can make no charge, against the Federal Government as it has been administered; and 'the Stars and Stripes,' we repeat, have been, and are, Southern as well as Northern."

Here, not only the fact is conceded that the "Stars and Stripes" have never been used to oppress the South, but the further fact stands confessed that the Government long has been in Southern hands, and is only abandoned when it can no longer be controlled by Southern interests and slavery propagandists. The New York *Herald*, an organ of the *divine* right of slave-owners to their property and of their *equal rights* under the Constitution, stands appalled at the unspeakable crime of the Secessionists. It says:—

"Our existing Southern rebellion is without a precedent or a parallel in the history of mankind. In its causes, in the materials

of its organization, in the means and instrumentalities employed to bring it about, and in the grand objects of the conspirators, this revolutionary movement stands entirely alone. There is nothing to compare with it in any essential in the records of any people of ancient or modern times. Entered into on the plea of security to the great Southern institution of slavery, the experiment is hailed by the enemies of that institution as the harbinger of a swift, bloody and sweeping emancipation. Urging the flimsy arguments of an intolerable Northern oppression, those misguided revolutionists have voluntarily placed themselves under a revolting Southern despotism. Never before was there such madness exhibited by any people, and never before did madness embody so much of premeditation, calculation and skillful engineering."

If there are English statesmen and editors who, for sake of the *benefits* that accrue to England from slave-labor in America, will still persist in finding a pretext or excuse for this rebellion, in the face of the overwhelming evidence to be had by them simply for the seeking, we have only to cite them before a Southern tribunal to convict them of a *purpose* to be deceived. Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, "vice-president" of the "Confederate States," in one of his expositions of the principles and purposes of the movement for disrupting the republic, clearly and explicitly declared African slavery to be one of the immediate causes of the revolution. That we may not be charged with the most distant desire to misrepresent, or to misinterpret, to make good an argument, we shall take the liberty of laying before the English people his enunciation of "Southern" principles:

"Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; *its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man. That slavery—subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition.*

"*This, our new Government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical and moral truth. This truth*

has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well, that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics. * * *

"In the conflict thus far, success has been, on our side, complete throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. *It is upon this, as I have stated, our actual fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.*

* * * "The negro, by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper materials, the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. *The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is best, not only for the superior, but for the inferior race that it should be so.* It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. * * *

"The progress of disintegration in the old Union may be expected to go on with almost absolute certainty. We are now the nucleus of a growing power, which, if we are true to ourselves, our destiny, and high mission, will become the controlling power on this continent. To what extent accessions will go on in the process of time, or where it will end, the future will determine."

This leaves little to be said. It cannot fill the people of Great Britain with more amazement than it has the friends of humanity in America. It recognizes the principle of *caste*—it builds a state upon the substratum of a society doomed to unpaid servitude, which shall be bought and sold as any other property:—is it for *this* reason that the effort to found a cotton Confederacy finds favor in the eyes of certain English Lords? Let the humanitarians—the Christians—the *people* of the British Empire put the question to themselves.

II.

THE RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT OF THE COUNTRY ON THE
REBELLION.

OUR English friends, of all Christian denominations, will feel some interest to learn how their brethren of the Free American States regard the present crisis in the affairs of the Union. We, therefore, lay before them such expressions of Church Assemblies as we can, at this moment, command. In their statements and resolutions a good idea may be formed of the *causes* of the rebellion, as well as of that most remarkable unanimity among the people of the North in their effort to crush the rebellion.

At the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States, the following proposition was *unanimously* adopted (May 23d):

“There is reason to believe that the people of the slaveholding States of our Confederacy misapprehend the principles and views of the people of the non-slaveholding States. It is a mistake to suppose that there is any intention to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists, by any other means than such as the right of free discussion of any subject of interest in politics or religion, properly conducted, will sanction; to suppose that there is a desire that the slaves should rise up in insurrection, murder their owners, and devastate their homes; that there is any plan to degrade or subjugate the South, and deprive its inhabitants of the equal rights which the Constitution of our country secures to all.”

In the General Assembly (May 20th), of the New School Presbyterians of the United States, the following resolve was *unanimously* adopted:

“*Resolved*, That all those who are endeavoring to uphold the Constitution and maintain the Government of these United States in the exercise of its lawful prerogatives, are entitled to the sympathy and support of all Christian and law-abiding citizens.”

The Old School Presbyterian General Assembly (in Philadelphia, May 28th), Resolved :

"That the members of this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this Church, do hereby acknowledge and declare their obligation, so far as in them lies, to maintain the Constitution of these United States, in the full exercise of all its legitimate powers, to preserve our beloved Union unimpaired, and to restore its inestimable blessings to every portion of the land."

The American Universalists' Association thus declared on the crisis :—

"*Whereas*, In our beloved country an armed rebellion has arisen, whereby the Federal Government has been defied, its property in forts, mints, and vessels robbed, loyal citizens outraged, and the national flag contemned, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we hereby support the Government in its present attitude toward rebellion, recognizing as we do the dire necessity of appealing to the sword.

"*Resolved*, That we behold in the Stars and Stripes a symbol of Christianity in its political aspects, which, with reverence, we may wrap about the Cross of Christ.

"*Resolved*, That in the present resort to arms we recognize no war of the North against the South, but a contest of democracy against despotic aristocracy; and that as Christian pastors and people, within our sphere, we prepare for battle, confident of God's approval of our course."

The Jews are not less patriotic. American flags are flung from Synagogues, and the very rabbi (Dr. Raphael) who, last fall, preached a crusade for the Divine origin of Slavery, invokes the God of Israel to crush out the enemies of his adopted country, and to bless the cause of the North.

The Baptists, assembled in convention to consider the state of the country and their obligations to it (Brooklyn, May 28th), adopted, among others, the following preamble and resolutions :—

"The Assembly of Baptists, gathered from the various Northern States of the Union, would, at the present solemn crisis of the national history, put on record some expression of their judgment, as Christians loving their country, and seeking, in the fear and from the grace of God, its best interests.

"*Resolved*, That the doctrine of secession is foreign to our Constitution, revolutionary and suicidal, setting out in anarchy, and finding its ultimate issue in despotism.

"*Resolved*, That the national Government deserves our loyal adhesion and unstinted support in its wise, forbearing, and yet firm maintenance of its national unity and life ; and that sore, long, and costly as the conflict may be, the North has not sought it, and the North will not shun it, if Southern aggressions persist ; and that a surrender of the national Union and our ancestral principles would involve sorer evils of longer continuance and vaster costliness."

Bishop Potter, Protestant Episcopal head of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, published a form of prayer for his congregations, embodying the most patriotic sentiments. So unusual a document from an *Episcopal* magnate created a happy surprise, for that denomination is studiously reticent, in the United States, upon all questions of politics and governmental action. The "irrepressible negro" never has been allowed to darken, with the shadow of his presence, any Episcopal convocation. Yet, Bishop Potter, one of the most eminent and influential Churchmen of the country, felt the great crisis as a man and citizen of a republic which had the most imperative claims upon his Christian influence ; hence, he uttered a fervent prayer and address to his people, in which he called upon them to stand fast by the Government in its hour of peril. To this the almost unanimous "Aye !" has gone up from Episcopalians in all the Northern States. Even Trinity Church, in New York city, has thrown the Stars and Stripes from its lofty spire, and there the national ensign waves, to cheer and animate the hearts of the tens of thousands who daily pass beneath the shadow of its magnificent

portal. Even Grace Church, in New York city, "the exclusive of exclusives," whose piety is as delicately distilled as the perfume upon the robes of its most "exclusive" worshipper—has given the Stars and Stripes a place *above the Cross*, upon its exquisite Gothic spire. Many a glorious strain rolls out upon the air like an invocation from Trinity's bells—the very heavens seem resonant of "Yankee Doodle," "Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "Red, White and Blue," as regiment after regiment hurries on its eager way toward the battle-ground for a country. It is a *jubilate* of which Churchmen throughout the world may be proud, for its grand harmony is of the great gospel of humanity and patriotism.

Bishop Potter, in a reply to the strictures of a "Southern Episcopalian," on his prayer and address, said :—

"I do not believe that at the North one man in fifty desires an invasion of your soil or the destruction of your social system. They simply desire that you should not break up the Union by your method of leaving it; but refer all subjects of complaint to a Convention of all the States, which will be competent either to redress all grievances or to provide a way in which you can retire from the Union without dissolving the whole fabric of our General Government.

"Under the present exasperated state of the sections, it is impossible to say to what length this conflict may go. But I assure you that in the few lines above, you have the whole *animus* of the loyal States and of the Union men everywhere. Only the smallest number of fanatics think or talk of slavery. The whole question is one of self-defence, and of *Government or no Government*."

The Roman Catholics are "brothers in a common cause." Arch-bishop Hughes comes out boldly and manfully for the Government. An American flag floats from the tower of his Cathedral. The Methodists are behind none in their devotion to the Union, the Constitution and the Laws. What a record!

III.

PURPOSES OF THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES IN WAGING A CONTEST WITH THE "SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY."

THE thousand and one hints, guesses, statements and declarations of the English press regarding the purposes of the Government at Washington, in prosecuting the war on the Southern States,—in most instances made from a want of correct information, or from a misinterpretation of the documents now before the world—render it proper for us to set forth, clearly, the true nature of the contest.

It is, first, a contest of *defence against violence and assault.*

It is, secondly, a struggle *to protect the people from usurpation.*

It is, thirdly, *an effort to regain the property and possessions of the General Government seized by Southern mobs.*

It is, fourthly, *a struggle to save the Union from dishonorable and forcible disruption.*

It is, fifthly, *a war to suppress the enemies of peace, law, order, humanity and republicanism.*

These are the motives of the contest—accepted by the people of the Northern States almost universally: and any statements of any party that it is a war of aggrandizement on the part of the North—that it is waged in a spirit of persecution of Southern institutions and rights—is not only a libel on the patriotism of the Free States, and their respect for the mandates of the Constitution, but is calculated to create a sympathy for the Southern States in the hearts of all not fully informed in the premises. That the latter was the purpose of the *London Times*, in its unmistakably malicious asseveration [quoted under another head] we do not doubt, seeing that that assertion has been followed by others equally mistaken and deceptive in their nature; but, we know English intelligence

too well not to feel that, when the truth is known, the *Times* and its echoes will be despised for their presumption and their disregard of the claims of justice.

Mr. Lincoln is no "Abolitionist." The Republican party, by whose votes he was constitutionally elected, is not "abolitionized" in the least. He believes, and the Republican party believes, that Congress has *no power* to interfere with Slavery in the States—that those States which have adopted pro-slavery constitutions, and buy and sell human beings, are at liberty to do so, and are *protected* by the United States Constitution and the United States Supreme Court. The assumption of Southern politicians that the election of Mr. Lincoln argued a *design* to interfere with their rights, on the part of the North, have not a shadow of foundation in truth. Any interference, even if it were wished, would be absolutely *impossible*. So strong has been the sentiment of *protection* to the South, that the Republican party, as a party, dared not even to propose a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law—a most offensive and unnatural enactment, solely made to conciliate the South. It sets at defiance and *overrides* the laws of States; it nullifies the *habeas corpus* act; it virtually makes the Constitution *protect slavery in the Free States*. Yet, rather than give the South any pretext for complaint, the people of the Free States have submitted to the odious enactment and have not even proposed its modification, much less its repeal.

Presuming upon this forbearance, the Southern leaders, even up to a late day, positively counted upon a strong Southern party in the Northern States, who, for trade and profit, would certainly stand by the South and *compel* the Lincoln Administration to *recognize the independence* of the Southern Confederacy. They mistook a desire for peace—a submission to law—for the spirit of poltroonery; they believed, that, to be successful, needed but to be bold in their measures, and depended

upon the commercial spirit of the North as their sure, certain instrument of defence.

That they have been deceived is now painfully apparent to themselves. The Government rises in its majesty, to restore its outraged authority—to regain its plundered mints, arsenals, depots and forts—to collect its abrogated revenues—to protect its loyal citizens from outrage and death—to restore the laws to their efficiency and ancient force; and the *people* sustain the Government with an enthusiasm which can but carry confidence, to the hearts of all disinterested observers, of its ultimate, overwhelming triumph.

That the war is, as we have asseverated, one to sustain the Union and the Laws, we have only to point to every state paper or address issued by the President or his advisers, or by the Generals commanding the Military Departments over which they hold command. All these papers and orders have been couched in kindness, in amity, in a spirit of unquestioned forbearance:—were they otherwise, the ever merciful Free States would repudiate them.

The instructions of our Government to Mr. Adams, our Minister to the Court of St. James, are not, as we write, made public. We have no reason to believe, however, that they differ in spirit or tone from those issued to Mr. Dayton, the American Minister-resident to the French Government. We may, therefore, quote from them as foreshadowing the purposes of Mr. Lincoln's administration in the prosecution of this contest. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, in his instructions to Mr. Dayton, says:—

“You may, therefore, recall that conversation to M. Thouvenel's memory, and then assure him explicitly that THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WHATEVER BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CONSTITUTIONAL ADVISERS, OR AMONG THOSE ADVISERS THEMSELVES, CONCERNING THE POLICY THAT HAS BEEN PURSUED, AND WHICH IS NOW PROSE-

CUTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION IN REGARD TO THE UNHAPPY DISTURBANCES EXISTING IN THE COUNTRY. The path of executive duty has, thus far, been too plainly marked out by stern necessity to be mistaken.

The United States waited patiently, while their authority was defied in turbulent assemblies and insidious preparations, willing to hope that mediation, offered on all sides, would conciliate and induce the disaffected parties to return to a better mind. But the case is now altogether changed. The insurgents have instituted revolution with open, flagrant, deadly war, to compel the United States to acquiesce in the dismemberment of the Union. *The United States have accepted this civil war as an inevitable necessity.* The constitutional remedies for all the complaints of the insurgents are still open to them, and will remain so. But, on the other hand, the land and naval forces of the Union have been put into activity, to restore the federal authority, and to save the Union from danger.

You cannot be too decided or too explicit in making known to the French Government that *there is not now, nor has there been, nor will there be any, the least idea existing in this Government of suffering a dissolution of this Union to take place in any way whatever.* There will be here only one nation and one government, and there will be the same republic, and the same constitutional Union that have already survived a dozen national changes and changes of government in almost every other country. These will stand hereafter, as they are now, objects of human wonder and human affection. You have seen, on the eve of your departure, the elasticity of the national spirit, the vigor of the national Government, and the lavish devotion of the national treasures to this great cause. Tell M. Thouvenel, then, with the highest consideration and good feeling, *that the thought of a dissolution of the Union, peaceably or by force, has never entered into the mind of any candid statesman here, and it is high time that it be dismissed by statesmen in Europe."*

The sentiments of this document are only those of a solemn devotion to a mighty, imperative duty; and the vast preparations made and making, by the authorities at Washington, and by the authorities of the entire eighteen Northern States—as well as by Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and Missouri,

those Slave States still acknowledging the authority of the Federal Union—are for the purpose of sustaining this view of the Secretary of State. We submit to the English people if less could be expected from the Government, and if, under the circumstances, the war is either one of aggression or injustice? Let them imagine Ireland and Scotland in arms against their union with England and Wales:—would they not characterize a ministry as imbecile and base, which, after exhausting persuasion and argument, did not resort to arms to restore its outraged authority? The greatness of Great Britain is owing to her consolidated empire and free Constitution—the greatness of the American Union is owing to the same thing:—if they would retain their positions and enhance their prosperity they *must* sustain their Union and their Constitution against *all assaults whatsoever*.

IV.

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION A FALLACY.

WE need not here recall the many and powerful declarations of those eminent expounders of the Constitution, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and Thomas Benton, against the right of secession. That they ignored any such right, and asserted that no power existed for a State to secede from the Federal Union, after once having come into the compact, is a well known fact—one controverted with such poor success by partisans of the school of John C. Calhoun and South Carolina Hayne, that all hope of a secession by peaceful means was abandoned.

Those great men being dead, the game of revolution was matured and prosecuted persistently, though insidiously, until its development, in Mr. Buchanan's reign, into open

defiance of the authority of the General Government. The English reader, desirous of judging from a full knowledge of the question, will very naturally infer that an idea so patiently adhered to, even by revolutionists, must have *some* claims to consideration. The *London Review* correctly expounds the principle of secession as it is interpreted by the more rational of the leaders of the movement in the Slave States, when it says :

“As sovereign States, each with its own Legislature and Government, and not as mere counties in a kingdom, or parishes in a city, the Seceders claim the right to withdraw from a voluntary confederacy—a partnership from which they no longer derive any advantage, and to which they owe no allegiance or loyalty—a right which they hold to be as sacred as that right of revolt against British injustice which freed the colonies from the dominion of the mother country. On what principle, they ask, can the North combat the proposition, unless it be that on which George III. and his advisers combated Washington? And does the North imagine that it can successfully combat the South on that issue?”

This is the most, and only, reasonable view of the question that can be taken. But it is, at best, a flimsy, shallow pretext—one repudiated by the Confederacy just as soon as it became a power, and repudiated of necessity, for those very principles at any moment might disintegrate their new Government, and leave Mr. Davis without a people to govern. If South Carolina does not like any particular enactment of the Confederate authorities, she can *secede*. Georgia, ditto. Alabama, ditto. Louisiana can go by herself and levy tribute on commerce by commanding the Mississippi. Texas can go back to Mexico, or to barbarism, as she pleases. Or, applying the principle still more closely:—any county aggrieved with the State has a *right* to secede and set up for itself. Why not any city, also? any ward in any city? any tavern in any ward? If the *right* exists to abrogate at will a central

authority, it is a right open alike to individuals and communities, and would, if conceded, plunge any State or society into anarchy and social dissolution.

We say the Southerners themselves have repudiated the principle. Governor Brown, of Mississippi, issued a proclamation, *forbidding* the military of his State to take their arms or accoutrements out of the State when called into the service of the "Confederate" Government. Whereupon the *Savannah Republican* thus arraigns the Governor:

"Governor Brown may be technically right in this order; but he has, at least, selected an unfortunate time for issuing it. From the beginning a *misunderstanding seems to have existed between him and the Confederate authorities*, to be found with no other State, and it is high time it had been brought to a close. It has been a source of serious confusion and embarrassment in all our movements for defence, and, if allowed to remain, will wholly demoralize the service."

"*May be right, technically*, but is a source of serious embarrassment and confusion, and, *if allowed to remain, will wholly demoralize the SERVICE!*" Hear the *Republican* still further, in its exposition of confederate powers and jurisdiction:

"Governor Brown is entitled to credit for his good intentions, but he seems to have a strange idea of the powers and duties of the Confederate President, *when he assumes that international affairs have been left by the Constitution in the hands of the Governors of the several States*. We beg leave to remind him that there is in existence such an individual and functionary as Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America; and, furthermore, that the past history of the said President affords ample assurance that the rights of all the citizens of the Confederate States will be protected abroad. This may be news to the Governor, but it is nevertheless true."

Here the power of a *State* is clearly denied:—the power of the *superior Government* is clearly and unequivocally declared.

We may say that, all the United States authorities have assumed in this contest, is conceded in this exposition of the *Republican*, which, in common with all the leading papers in the seceded States, virtually declares *that the General Government is supreme to the State*—has a *right to enforce* its behests and to the direction of international affairs by *authority* of its Constitution which has been sworn to and adopted by the States. It is this principle—this fact that compels the Federal Executive at Washington to refuse to recognize the right of any State authority to abrogate the national compact of States—to set the power and jurisdiction of the National Constitution at defiance.

When, therefore, the *London Review* further says :

“To themselves, at least, the South seems to be fighting in vindication of a great principle with which the people of England can sympathize, in spite of their hatred of slavery—a principle which lies at the root of the whole difficulty, and which is no other than the sacred right of self-government,”

It is evident that the writer does not understand the principle which is the key-stone to the arch of our Governmental structure—the rights, powers and province of the Federal Executive. The right of *self-government* has not, for a moment, in all this controversy, been questioned; *the United States Constitution expressly guarantees the sovereignty of the people*. The people have compelled the President and Legislatures to take a solemn oath, before these functionaries are permitted to exercise any authority whatever, “to support the Constitution and the Laws.” What is that Constitution—what are these Laws, if, under the miserable sophistry of “the right of secession,” any State can, *at its pleasure*, abrogate the responsibilities of the one and defy the power of the other? Of what use was that oath if the authorities subscribing to it were not empowered to *enforce* the provisions of the instru-

ment which they are sworn to uphold? If the Constitution means anything it means *obedience* to its requisitions; if the oath "to support" it means anything it means to defend it to the last from *all* assaults. Otherwise, what a miserable mockery is all our history—what a farce was our struggle against the British Crown for Independence—what a set of idiots were those "fathers of the Republic" who concocted a scheme of government which has not even the power or right to protect its own existence!

If the right of secession be conceded, even where the entire people favor the act, what security is there for the peace of the State which secedes? For, if the State has a right to dissolve its allegiance to the General Government, as we have said, a county has the same right to dissolve relations with the State—a township can "secede" from a county—a city from a township—a ward from a city—a house from a ward. If the law is good in one case it is good in the others, and, acting upon the principle, the whole system of the Government must fall in pieces. Even if the United States were to allow the dissatisfied Slave States to leave the Union in peace, there is nothing in their principles or organization to prevent a quick sundering of their dark compact:—any disconcerted politician, any displeased or ambitious Governor, could rebel, and, under the principles of the "fathers of secession," would have a *right* to do so if he could carry any portion of his people with him.

But, in the history of this business, a most remarkable fact is kept from view, namely:—that in the majority of the States of the "Confederacy" the people have either not voted at all on the question of secession, or have had their voice stifled by the action of conventions. Thus, States actually have been *precipitated* into revolt when the wish and voice of the people were, *undeniably, opposed* to any overt act against the General

Government. How could this be done, does the English reader ask, in amazement? Very easily. If a set of desperate, determined men should proclaim a vote on a certain day, and should proceed to the polls to shoot down or to insult any person who presumed to vote inimically to their schemes, it is fair to infer that the vote would be quite one way, and that the wrong way. Or, if a set of delegates should vote *against* a secession ordinance, and the vote should be declared *affirmative* and the "ordinance" immediately proclaimed, how should the people, scattered thinly over a large section, thwart the well-matured but wicked subversion of their liberties? There are thousands of Union men in the cotton-growing States, but they are perfectly at the mercy of the horde of cut-throats who "go in for fight." In the central and border Slave States the Union element is really in the majority, but, unfortunately, the slaveholding Governors of all those States are under the baleful control of the ambitious magnates at Montgomery and Richmond, with whom they are in the closest communion, and they have, literally, *sold out their constituents* to the rebel cause. A general election, if it could be ordered and conducted in such a manner that men might vote as their judgment dictated, would, beyond question, restore the border and central States to the Union; but, such an election, until United States bayonets are on hand to protect the sanctity of the franchise, would simply be *impossible*. The presence of troops in Maryland has saved that State from the grasp of the conspirators. So of Missouri. Kentucky is true in spite of a Governor who has used every effort to precipitate the State into the vortex. Virginia, it is but fair to presume, will be voted *into* the Union again as soon as she has the means of fairly visiting the ballot-box. Important papers seized at Alexandria, in that State, by the United States officers, reveal the means by which the *voting*

out was accomplished. The *Washington Star* thus announces the matter :

"The letters are believed to prove, beyond the possibility of denial, that the adoption of the ordinance of secession by the Virginia Convention was the result of fraud, usurpation and terrorism unsurpassed in the history of civilized government ; of naked and palpable revolution, to the end of entirely sweeping away at a blow the liberties of the masses of the State, in order to place in the hands of the conspirators and their instruments, for life, the entire machinery of the Government of Virginia."

So outraged have the loyal men of Western Virginia (full one-half of the State) been, that they had resolved, if allowed by the General Government, to *secede* from the State, and, by electing their own officers, come into the Union as the *Virginia de facto*. These loyal men have been addressed by some of their leading citizens on their duty in the crisis. We may quote from the addresses an extract which shows how the people understand the matter :

"Will the disunion majority of the Richmond Convention come into the ranks, and shoulder the musket, in the strife which they have inaugurated? They will keep at a respectful distance from danger. They will fill the lucrative offices, and secure the rich appointments which appertain to the new order of things. They will luxuriate on two, or three, or four hundred dollars per month, with horses and servants, and rations to match, while the Union-loving people will be called upon, for the honor of Virginia and two shillings per day, to do the fighting, and undergo the hardships of war.

"If those feelings which actuated our revolutionary fathers be not all dead in us, we shall exhibit our love for Virginia by repudiating this tyrannical rule which the Richmond Convention has endeavored to impose, and suffer not ourselves to be sold like sheep from the shambles. The people yet hold their destinies in their own hands—it is for them to accept or reject a tyranny worse many times than that from which the war of '76 delivered us—not the tyranny of one man, but of many."

The same spirit of resistance to the usurpers is decidedly manifested in Tennessee, by some of the most able and influential men in the State. But, their eloquence and patriotism are all for nought, since the Governor, *without any authority from the people*, enters into a "treaty" which joins Tennessee to the "Confederacy." The world never before beheld such insolent betrayal of trust.

In the Kentucky Legislature an influential Senator thus addressed (May 28th) those Senators who sought to ally the State to the government of Mr. Davis:

"When Kentucky goes down, it will be in blood. Let that be understood. She will not go as other States have gone. Let the responsibility rest on you, where it belongs. It is all your work, and whatever happens will be your work. We have more right to defend our Government than you have to overturn it. Many of us are sworn to support it. Let our good Union brethren of the South stand their ground. I know that many patriotic hearts in the seceded States still beat warmly for the old Union—the old flag. The time will come when we shall all be together again. The politicians are having their day. The *people* will yet have theirs. I have an abiding confidence in the *right*, and I know that this secession movement is all wrong. There is, in fact, not a single substantial reason for it. If there is, I should be glad to hear it; our Government has never oppressed us with a feather's weight. The direst oppression alone could justify what has brought all our present suffering upon us. May God, in his mercy, save our glorious Republic!"

This is the ring of the true metal. It tells the story as it should, and will be told if the loyal men of the Slave States are permitted to speak.

It will be time for sympathizers of the London *Review* school, who believe in the "sacred right of self-government," to spend their pity and logic upon the seceded States when they learn that "the people" have precipitated the treasonable act of separation from the parent Government.

V.

THE SPIRIT AND TEMPER OF THE SLAVE "CONFEDERATES."

Do we live in an age of barbarism that brothers should enter into deadly conflict—that fellow-citizens and neighbors should drive the steel into one another's bosoms? we hear some of our good humanitarian friends ask, who reside beyond the sea. We ourselves ask the same question daily:—*do* we live in an age of barbarism? when we read extracts from Southern papers, or hear the story of some poor exile from that unhappy "confederacy." Our humanitarian friends ask from a want of knowledge; we ask having a full knowledge, with facts before us appalling enough to satiate the appetite of the most inveterate seeker for horrors.

The Government of the United States is one of the most beneficent the world has known. It grew out of the spirit of humanity, and embodied that noble sentiment: "All men are endowed with certain *inalienable* rights, among which are life, *liberty* and the *pursuit of happiness*." Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Livingston, Hamilton, Madison, Adams, infused their integrity, their patriotism, their virtue, into the instrument of our national life which they willed to us as their richest and most priceless heirloom. That instrument we have abided by, ceaselessly and faithfully. Under it we have grown to a greatness which, in its very magnitude, is surprising even to ourselves. Our happiness has been equally secured: no people who ever lived had so great cause for gratitude and thanksgiving. So many schools, so many churches, so many printing presses, telegraphs and railroads, so many ships, so much enterprise and such high general intelligence are simply *results* of our Constitution:—could we adduce a greater evidence of its entire beneficence?

But, even the Prodigal was not content with the plenty and the glory of his father's house, and he wandered away to become the feeder of swine. So, in our National mansion are Prodigals, who, spoiled by prosperity and wicked with ambition, have gone out from the shadow of our temple to cast their lot among those of their own kind—have *seceded*, to erect, on the ruins of their former virtue and patriotism, a structure of their own—a “Confederacy” whose corner-stone should rest upon the bodies and souls of human chattels. It is not strange that such men should entertain passions and feelings not consonant with righteousness. Indeed, it would be as unreasonable to expect forbearance and tenderness from the spoiled child who strikes the bosom from which he has drawn his life.

The spirit of the Union-loving States is the spirit of the Constitution.

THE SPIRIT OF THE SECEDED STATES IS THE SPIRIT OF WICKEDNESS.

That this is true, we have only to demand attention to facts to prove; and we particularly wish our humane friend in England to be correctly informed that he may judge fairly of the *relative character* of the two sections now at war.

We have said our Constitution was a beneficent instrument, giving in evidence our wonderful material, moral and intellectual growth. Such a development is only possible under the wisest and most humane Government over a humane and truly Christian people. Devotion to such a Constitution—to such laws, is evidence, of itself, of the virtue and integrity of the citizen.

Who are devoted to their maintenance and protection?

Look at the record! The inaugural of Mr. Lincoln, his proclamations, the orders of the War Department, all declare that the Constitution and the laws must be sustained. Do

they also breathe a spirit of unkindness, of persecution? Who can have the hardihood to aver it?

Look at the record! The people of the Free States, hitherto divided into parties, and entertaining apparently irreconcilable differences of opinion, are now as one man:—Democrats, Republicans, Conservatives, Abolitionists, Compromisers and Submissionists, all have disappeared, and, undivided, shout the rallying cry—"The Constitution and the Laws—God and the Right!" Who is so bold as to charge upon these a desire to perpetrate a *wrong*?

Look at the record! The press of the Free States from Maine to Minnesota—from Philadelphia to Kansas—heretofore divided as widely as Liberals and Tories, write with one inspiration. "Sustain the Constitution and the Laws—unconditional submission first, peace and compromise afterward!" is their unanimous invocation. Will any one be so presumptuous as to suppose that this unanimity springs from any *base* motive?

Look at the record! Turn to the action of the American churches. See Roman Catholic and Jew—Universalist and Calvinist—Episcopalian and Unitarian—Presbyters, Laymen and Probationers all clasping hands, chaunting liberty's anthem—"God save the Union!" It is a sight more solemn than the uprising for the Crusades—more inspiring than the song of Miriam. Will Christian men and women in England be so unchristian as to impute to their American brethren any but high and holy motives?

Where is the barbarism, then, of which we speak? *Look at the record which comes to us from the South!*

Men hung and scourged—for what? For entertaining Union sentiments!

Men tarred and feathered—for what? For loving the Stars and Stripes!

Men, women and children, fleeing by hundreds to the Free States, leaving behind them all their precious possessions—for what? For loving liberty of conscience better than tyranny!

Vast masses of Southern men arming—for what? To drive the United States Government troops from all its forts, and possessions in the South, built and sustained at a cost vastly greater than the entire revenues from the South for years!

United States arsenals and mints are pillaged—for what? To arm the incendiaries for “protection”—for “defense” against the United States in her effort to recover her property, and to punish the high treason which instigated the robbery!

Read the record! For what was the revolutionary movement concocted—for what is it prosecuted? Hear Mr. Stephens, “Vice-President” of the “Confederacy:”—

“But, not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other, though last not least: the new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. THIS WAS THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE LATE RUPTURE AND PRESENT REVOLUTION.”

Read the record! He further says:

We are now the nucleus of a growing power, which, if true to ourselves, our destiny and our high mission, WILL BECOME THE CONTROLLING POWER ON THIS CONTINENT.”

After this it is of small account to read that Jefferson Davis issues a proclamation to commission cut-throats on the high seas, offering a bounty of twenty dollars for every Union man killed, and twenty-five dollars for every one taken prisoner, to be placed in hands of the “authorities” for their further vengeance. Even the sickening daily accounts of

citizens hanging from trees cease to startle us, and we can but exclaim, as we raise our hands to Heaven for the interposition of its righteous allegiance—

DO WE LIVE IN AN AGE OF BARBARISM?

Englishmen! Englishwomen! *Can* you hesitate to charge your Ministers and the Crown to qualify their unholy and ungrateful act of recognizing the rebellious States as a "belligerent power," co-equal in rights and sympathy to the Free States of the North?

VI.

CONFEDERATE DISHONOR.

It is not to be supposed that a people who lightly regard political virtue, will be celebrated for moral principle. If a man can take a most solemn and sacred oath of allegiance to his country, and has neither patriotism nor virtue enough to prevent him from deserting that allegiance upon slight pretext, he is not the person to trust in any capacity, no matter if he does come from "one of our first families."

Hence, we are not surprised that the traitors in the Slave States should *repudiate* their debts of many millions to the North. Incurred by the easy process of selling out their entire crop of cotton *before* it was grown, and by getting credit, besides, on all the goods and manufactured articles they required, from a silk velvet gown to a saw-mill, it was *so* delightful to have the pretext of patriotism for the disgraceful act. We have never believed that a community, which made four millions of human beings work hard all their lives for no pay, were honest in the Golden Rule acceptation of the word *honesty*; but, our Northern manufacturers and merchants "went in" on the *chivalry*, and—they have come out, shorn. Chivalry has repudiated, and, as in former

cases, has done it from honorable motives—to punish its enemies and learn its friends a lesson !

A good farce, well played, is enjoyable at all times ; and, serious as the matter of repudiation is to so many of our business men, we cannot help laughing at the infinite impudence of the whole scheme of secession. Theft of Government property, breaking of solemn oaths, repudiation of debts, over-issuing State bonds for sale on Wall street at sixty per cent. off, proposals for new loans, all are acts in the self-same drama—a drama which no people in the world besides the “chivalry” could play with any hope of success. Such an amount of impudence, duplicity, and moral turpitude could only be found in a community that riots in wealth won from the unpaid labor of a weaker race, and breeds men, women and children for a market.

A good story came to us from a correspondent in London, regarding the reception, by the Barings, of the “Confederate” Commissioners in search of a *little loan* to help the new power along. As it illustrates, in an *affecting* manner, not only an episode in the history of the leading “Confederate” States, but shows the Barings, and our countryman, Peabody, in a characteristic light, we will quote it :—

“The Commissioners from the Rebel States having been formally introduced to Mr. Bates, the head of the house of Baring Brothers, the great financier told them to proceed. They commenced with a most elaborate and glowing description of the resources and wealth of the Rebel States. After a pause :

“Mr. Bates—Have you finished ?

“Commissioners—Not quite. [Then a speech from Commissioner No. 2, and a pause.]

“Mr. Bates—Have you finished ?

“Commissioners—Almost. [Then a speech from Commissioner No. 3, and a pause.]

“Mr. Bates—Are you through ?

“Commissioners—Yes, sir ; you have our case.

"Mr. Bates—What States, did you say, composed your Confederacy?

"Commissioners—Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Texas, and Louisiana.

"Mr. Bates—And Mr. Jefferson Davis is your President?

"Commissioners—He is. We are proud of him.

"Mr. Bates—We know Mr. Davis well by reputation. *He is the same gentleman who stumped his State for two years in favor of Repudiation, and justified the conduct of Mississippi in the United States Senate.* We know the gentleman; and although we have no reason to be proud of him or his antecedents, I think I may safely say, that if you have brought with you to London the necessary funds to pay off principal and interest of the repudiated millions owing to our people by your States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, there is a reasonable prospect of your raising a small amount in this market! Our Mr. Sturgis will be happy to dine you at eight o'clock to-morrow evening." *Exeunt omnes.*

"While this scene was being enacted at the Barings, Mr. Dudley Mann, waited upon our countryman, Peabody, who holds three hundred thousand dollars of repudiated Mississippi Bonds on which there is due six hundred thousand dollars of interest. Mr. Mann was very magnificent and grandiloquent, but withal, prosy; and Peabody, suffering from gout and Mississippi repudiation, lost his temper; and shaking his clenched fist at the Rebel, emphatically said, 'If I were to go on 'Change and hunt up the suffering and starved widows and orphans who have been ruined by your infamous repudiation of honest debts, and proclaim that you are here to borrow more of our gold and silver to be again paid by repudiation (as I believe it is my duty to do), you would inevitably be mobbed, and find it difficult to escape with your life. Good morning, sir.'"

But, after all, we have no doubt the Commissioners did obtain English gold and English arms—these Southern gentlemen have "such a *winning way* with them," as we once heard an old negro say who, having been most brutally lacerated by the lash of the driver, had oil poured over his wounds by his "good massa," standing by during the flogging.

It will only heighten the joke to know that they did obtain a couple of million pounds sterling, and that, when they get home, they had an ordinance of *repudiation* passed. We don't see, indeed, how they can help doing so—it is a hereditary distemper which they cannot control. The very babe is repudiated by its white mother and has to suckle the black. When Southern gentlemen can do nothing else, it is said they run in debt to a field “darkey” for tobacco and then—repudiate!

This, however, *may* be a *story*; but, many bad cases *are so well authenticated* that we must say to any English creditors of those “Confederates”—beware of any of *their* promises to pay! If repudiation *is* made of recently contracted obligations in London, turn the claims over to the London *Times* establishment:—it, doubtless, will be very happy to *accommodate* British holders of “Confederate” bonds, at *about* forty per cent. off. The establishment could, from the *shave*, found another life annuity for Mr. Russell, for his “*eminent services*” in behalf of an “oppressed people.”

But, irony and badinage aside:—is there not, in the incontestable proofs of Southern dishonor, toward English as well as American creditors and friends, good cause for regarding *any* promises of the “Confederates” with suspicion? If Northern merchants and Northern States had pursued the course of the Slave States and slaveholders, would their commercial relations with England have remained those of amity and confidence? Why should *Southern* dishonor be regarded with less leniency?

VII.

OF THE SYMPATHY SHOWN IN ENGLAND FOR THE SLAVE CONFEDERACY.

THE writer of this will not be so unjust as to charge upon the great body of the English people sympathy with the revolutionists in America. He knows that the heart of the masses, and the spirit of British intelligence repudiate any fellowship with human slavery. But, he is amazed to find several of the leading journals of the kingdom, as well as several of the most eminent of its statesmen, covertly and indirectly conniving at the rebellion against the Constitution and the Union, and, by their *politic* views, creating an erroneous impression with regard to the position of the Northern States in this unhappy contest. To counteract—as far as a statement of facts may do so—this truly *impolitic* course of Tory papers, and of lords less prudent than humane, is the purpose of this appeal to intelligent Britons—those who would not sacrifice principle and right in a mere desire for commercial gain.

The London *Times* sounded the key-note of *its* conception of this crisis in the history of the American Republic as follows:—

“There is no principle whatever in the contest, only a mere sectional struggle for aggrandizement—that the whole North is in war-paint, brandishing the tomahawk and scalping knife, and that men are still living to see the fall of the Great Republic that witnessed its formation.”

Considering that the very existence of the Republic is threatened—that a Southern mob are instating a reign of terror and uprooting the very foundations of the peace and welfare of the country—that the openly avowed and oft repeated purpose of the disunionists is to subjugate the Free

State majority of the North—this declaration of the *Times* savors, to American apprehension, as much of malice as of dishonesty in its prevarication of the truth. Let the candid reader refer to the section of this paper treating of the “Immediate Cause of the Rebellion,” and see how far the *Times* is justified in its statement of the matter: let him refer to the “Religious Sentiment of the Country on the Rebellion” and learn what Christian men pronounce the war to be.

There must be some ulterior design in this prevarication. The presence of Mr. Russell—the “special correspondent” of the journal named—in Montgomery, Charleston and New Orleans, petted by Slave owners and honored by Slave breeders with ovations, is evidence less of the spirit of enterprise than of the desire to propitiate the Slave Cotton-growing States, and to give them, as far as his presence may do so, the moral force of the patronage of the London *Times*. Every letter yet written by Mr. Russell shows that he *studiously avoids* the great social, moral and inter-state bearing of the controversy, viewing it only in its commercial and material relations. How can he, a free-born Englishman, look upon the slave-pens of Montgomery and not utter one lament over the struggle which has for its *prime object* the extension of these pens into every possible section of the United States? His *instructions* might tell the reason of this silence upon the “question of questions.” How must he, a free-born Englishman, recoil before the sentiments of Mr. Stephens, the “Vice President” of the “Confederacy” :—

“*The foundations of our Government are laid—its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man—that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition. THIS, OUR NEW GOVERNMENT, IS THE FIRST IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD BASED UPON THIS GREAT PHYSICAL AND MORAL TRUTH.*”

We must think that he is silent from authority—that he has put aside Russell, the man, in Russell, the *Times* correspondent.

Lord John Russell's hurried recognition of the rebels as "belligerents" was uncalled for, injudicious and indefensible. That he, himself, will regret it, we cannot possibly doubt; and, that it will be so construed by his lordship as to render it of little avail to the Slave Confederates and their Piratical friends, we feel is inevitable, opposed, as the recognition is, to the sentiments and wishes of the English people. He declares:—

"Even if the Southern States should be considered to be in the condition of rebels, it is in accordance with the law of nations that we should recognize their authority to place cruisers upon the high seas."

If they have authority, under the laws of nations, to place cruisers on the high seas, they have the right to carry their prizes into British ports. What do Englishmen say to the Slave yacht *Wanderer*—which landed a cargo of Africans in Georgia, and is now commissioned to "cruise on the high seas"—preying upon the vessels of the North which may be bearing English products to American shores, or which may be bearing the grain and meats of America to English shores in exchange for merchandise and manufactures? What do they say to opening their ports to receive the "cruisers," and to open dépôts for their cargoes' safe keeping and sale?

Let us assume a parallel case to illustrate the actual state of the matter. Suppose Scotland should repent of her union with the English Crown—should "rebel" and cast off her allegiance—should violently seize all the property of the Crown within her borders—should whip, scourge, tar-and-feather, imprison and hang loyal Englishmen wherever they should be discovered—should compel every Scotsman to flee for his life who presumed to oppose the mad scheme of "se-

cession," and confiscate his property—should erect a despotism without allowing the people a right to vote upon the change—should declare human bondage a divine institution, and should make the traffic in human flesh the "corner-stone" of the new State—should commission privateers to cruise the high seas and seize upon British commerce swarming in all the waters of the globe:—in such a case what would be the sentiments of the English people and Crown toward the American Government if its Secretary of State should recognize Scotland as a "belligerent power?" We should justly merit their scorn and indignation, and should feel that a withdrawal of all relations with this country would be justified upon every principle of self-respect and right. Can America demand less of the British Crown and people than their utter and entire *non-recognition* of the rebellious States, in *any light*?

The London *Morning Herald*, not less politic than the *Times*, is less discreet, for it declares:—

"If cotton is not got by fair means, we must not scruple to use foul means, or the daily bread of four or five millions of the working population will be stopped."

Here we have the veil lifted. Cotton *must* be had even if the whole fabric of the Republic dissolve. The same spirit would go farther, if necessary, and say:—"If cotton is not to be got by fair means, we must not scruple to use foul means; therefore we will aid the American Slave States to negroes and new territory, to produce enough of the staple to employ all our poor."

When we realize that slavery was one of our *inheritances from* Great Britain—that the fathers of our Republic designed to be rid of the institution as quietly as possible by gradual emancipation—that this humane design has been thwarted by the growth of cotton to meet the demands of *English* looms—that this demand has increased the number of slaves from a

few hundred thousand to over *four millions*—that it is in behest of the cry for “more cotton” that the slave-breeders and cotton-growers demand admittance for their “peculiar institution” into the unsettled territories of the United States—the Northern States of the American Union feel that much of the crime of American slavery rests at the door of England ; and if they are excitable at any sympathy shown the rebels, either directly or covertly, it may be forgiven in the spirit which instigates the excitement—a spirit of utter hostility to *any* farther aid and comfort to slavery and slave-extensionists. The Northern States embrace more than *five-eighths* of the population and taxable wealth of these thirty-four States of the Union ; *their* enterprise, *their* commerce, *their* resources have made the country what it is. Cotton is but one of many commodities which have contributed to the prosperity of the country—only *one-seventh* of its actual resources, and *it* has been rendered a source of profit by *northern* factors and *northern* capital. The country owes everything to the Free States—very little, when accounts are balanced, to the Slave States. Is it a matter of wonder, then, that the press and people of the North are fired with indignation when they are told that the claims of Manchester looms are paramount to the rights, interests and sacred honor of the people of this Union ?

The following version of “God Save the King,” is now going the rounds of the American press :

God save Cotton, our King !

God save our noble King !

God save the King !

Send him the sway he craves,

Britons his willing slaves.

“Rule,” Cotton ! “Rule the waves !”

God save the King !

Outweighing truth and fame,
Cotton shall cloak our shame,
Freedom an empty name—
God save the King!

Careless of good or ill,
Cotton is sovereign still,
While we our pockets fill—
God save the King!

Lowly we bend the knee
To his autocracy;
Cotton shall rule the free!
God save the King!

Are the *people* of England willing to let this sentiment go forth to history uncontradicted? Or, will they be true to their hitherto professions of sympathy with the effort to circumscribe slavery to the end of its final extinguishment by peaceful means?

VIII.

OF THE LONDON TIMES.

WE can hardly convey to English readers the feeling of indignation and scorn which the people of the Free States of America now entertain for the London *Times*. If its course, previous to its issue of May 21st, was unacceptable to our Government and people, the article in its issue of the 21st—"A Hopeless and Objectless War," its flippant notice of the letter of Cassius M. Clay on the 22d, its ridicule of our Government's instructions to Mr. Dayton, have aroused a spirit of animosity which bodes no good to the peace and confidence of the two countries.

We beg to call the attention of intelligent Englishmen to this matter, and to submit for their consideration a few words

regarding the *Times* and the work it is doing—of alienating the *Free United States* from their but lately established *entente cordiale* between the two peoples and Governments.

The Free States of America—all of which are united *solidly* in the struggle with conspirators against the Union—are sixteen ; or eighteen, counting California and Oregon. They comprise over *five-eighths* of the entire population of the thirty-four States, while their taxable property *exceeds* that of the entire Slave States by a sum sufficient for buying every slave in the Cotton States.

The Slave States still true to their allegiance to their union with the Free States are:—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri—in all of which the spirit of loyalty to the Union is greatly in the ascendant, and all of which will furnish, or already have furnished, their quota of troops in response to the President's proclamation, *in spite of* the disloyal refusals of two of their Governors.

In Western Virginia the Union element is so largely in the ascendant that it asks the liberty of the Government at Washington to form a separate State, comprising all the vast area of the State west of the Blue Ridge. It will, in the approaching fall elections, elect members to the United States Congress as usual. Virginia will, therefore, take care of itself.

In Tennessee the Union element is also very strong. Under the leadership of such spirits as ex-Governor Andrew Johnston, Hon. Emerson Etheridge and their fearless coadjutors, the State never can be thrown *permanently* into the power of the disunionists, no matter what usurpation is practised by its Governor.

This confines the Slave "Confederacy" proper to North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas—in all, *nine* States. These nine States have a white population, of all ages and

conditions, *only equal to the population of Pennsylvania alone*. They have nearly one-third *less* population than New York State alone. They have one-fourth *less* population than the six New England States. They have about *one-third* of the population of the Western States. The figures of the late census place the matter beyond any conjecture. That census was taken under the supervision of a Southerner, and if it errs it may safely be inferred that the error is not in favor of the Free States.

Would any reader in England suppose, in reading the comments of the *Times*, that the single State of New York contained more population, owned more taxable property, commanded more ready and available wealth than *all* the "Confederate" States together?

Bearing all this in mind, then, how must that journal presume upon the ignorance of its readers when, day after day, it prates of the "Confederates" as the *equals* of the Free States! What ignorance does it assume for the English public when it speaks of the "thinly populated Western States" being able to raise "small levies" only! Ohio alone has *already* mustered *one hundred thousand men*, and has, on her actual militia reserve, nearly *four hundred thousand more*. Illinois has three hundred and fifty thousand men subject to call. Indiana about one-third less. These three States can bring more efficient men and means into the contest than all the Southern States together? Unite their forces to those of the great Northwest—of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Kansas, Nebraska—all anxious to send their hundreds of thousands into the field: add to them the forces of the densely populated and hardy New England States: then crown the mass by the waiting two hundred thousand men of New York State, and almost as many from New Jersey and Pennsylvania:—does it not *seem* like a stultification of both

intellect and moral sense for any public journal or any ministerial magnate to place the United States on an equality with the rebels?

The course of the *Times*, in this matter, argues either a most remarkable ignorance, or, what is more to its discredit, a most wicked purpose to mislead the English public by rating the nine rebellious States above their material importance and their capacity for war, and the eighteen Free States below their strength. That it is not ignorance but willful misrepresentation we may freely believe, since all the usual sources of information are open to it. As the "organ" of English intelligence it is a libel on the English people if it *is* ignorant:—it is a libel on their integrity if it hopes to carry its cause by false statements and suppression of the *whole* truth.

For what, we ask, are such paragraphs designed as the following:

"These model States of the American Union, to which we were bidden to look with admiration and envy, are acting as Delawares and Pawnees acted a century ago. Their resolutions, if they are correctly reported to us, are the resolutions of savages. The "bloody belt" is going round the States of the Confederation as it used to go round the tribes of a Red Indian league. Professed peacemakers are all in war-paint, the hatchet is dug up, and the talk of Christian Commonwealths is all of scalping and tomakawking."

"No convictions, however deeply entertained, can justify the extremity of civil war."

"Is Abraham Lincoln, the hard-working, peaceful, and simple-minded citizen, about to face an extremity from which the Duke of Wellington recoiled in dismay?"

"Let Mr. Clay and his countrymen look well to the present, and they will find enough to occupy their attention without troubling themselves with long visions of humiliation and retribution, which no man now alive will ever see accomplished."

"Not only is *there no cause for this strife*, but there is no prospect, or even possibility, of any gain in the end. It is not to be imagined that the North can hold the South in subjection, or that the South, even if it succeeds in repelling the forces of the North, will have bettered its position by the proceeding."

"Coercion, if it means anything, must mean conquest, and permanent conquest is impossible. Of the result, in short, nothing is either discernible or probable but civil war, with all its unspeakable horrors, and with no likelihood of a speedy end."

"From the last accounts we have received from the United States two things appear very evident—one, that the North, till recently so reluctant to draw the sword, is now embarking in the contest not only in an ardent but in a vindictive spirit."

"The wavering and dilatory policy of Mr. Lincoln, who, honest and well-meaning, but weak, inexperienced, and laudably averse to the shedding of blood, wasted in fruitless deliberation and inexplicable delay the priceless moments during which the peace of the country might possibly have been secured."

"The first question he is more successful in asking than answering—'What are we fighting for?' 'We are fighting,' says Mr. Clay, 'for nationality and liberty.' We can understand a fight for nationality between different races, but a fight for nationality between men of the same nationality is to us, we candidly confess it, an inexplicable enigma; nor can we better understand how a people, fighting to put down rebellion, to force their fellow-citizens to remain in a confederacy which they detest, and to submit to institutions which they repudiate, can be called the champions of liberty."

Under the guise of neutrality it fosters a spirit of hatred toward the overwhelming majority for its attempt at suppressing rebellion and treason. Under the pretext of impartiality it gives the conspirators all the moral force of equal belligerents in a just cause. Acting as self-constituted umpire, it insults Mr. Lincoln, ridicules Mr. Seward, laughs at Mr. Clay, and flings in the faces of the twenty millions in the Northern States a vain boast.

Let the design be what it may, the effect has been to wring a malediction from every true American heart in the twenty-two still Union-loving States; and, regarding the journal as the exponent of the sentiments of the British nation, it is awakening old hatreds to a quick and positive life. If a disseverance takes place, in the amicable relations existing between England and America, the London *Times* may take the credit or the infamy, as the judgment shall be, of the hostility. It forced England into the Crimean War:—it can as readily force her into a hostile attitude with America. All the “organ” has to do is to keep its “special correspondent” at the *Confederate Court*, to write up the greatness and glory of King Cotton, and to write down the resources, the enthusiasm, the loyalty, the intelligence and the pride of the North.

If Britons, loyal to their best interests and honest in their sentiment of regard for the Free States of America, would make themselves felt and heard, they must not be slow to speak and act. There is *need* of oil upon the troubled waters of every wave of the Atlantic which bears a London *Times* to American shores.

NOTE.—The facts and statements herein made are especially commended to the attention of those who have perused the statements of Hon. Mr. Lindsay, M. P. We certainly shall not complain of *his* earnest wish to have the independence of the Slave “Confederacy” recognized. He came to American shores, last year, to teach American merchants how to do their own business, visiting Washington to instruct the President and Congress upon their duties in regard to the navigation of the seas, and, especially, in regard to the tariff. As neither the merchants nor Congress paid any attention to his impertinent “mission,” he is excused for sympathizing with a Slave Confederacy which he possibly may be able to instruct and direct. All we desire in the matter is that those who have read his statements regarding the resources and population of the South, may not be misled by his monstrous misstatements of figures and facts.

IX.

WHY SHOULD ENGLAND ALIENATE THE GOOD WILL OF THE
FREE STATES?

ARE we assuming too much to say that England is materially as well as morally bound to the Northern States of America—that her best interests are on the side of law and order? The course of the *Times* and of the Ministry render it evident that they think it a matter of indifference which party triumphs in the contest inaugurated between the Slave power and the Constitutionals; but, we cannot believe the great body of the British nation are as unconcerned as their peers. For, laying aside the question of human slavery, and the recognition of a power which, as its leaders claim, is founded upon the right of man to enslave man, we can see nothing in the rebellion which should throw English sympathy into the scale against the Free Northern States. But, on the contrary, we plainly perceive good *commercial* reasons why that sympathy should be accorded to the Free States, in its fullest measure.

The only product of the Slave States, of which England can hope to make any use, is cotton. Do the Manchester manufacturers suppose the Southern planters are *able* to hold their staple, their almost sole source of life, from *any* market where it commands the best price? Let England pursue what course she may, that cotton, as soon as hostility ceases and the blockade is removed, *must* flow into its old channels, for it is only in these channels that it can be rendered productive. No looms can compete with those in the New England States and Great Britain, and no markets, therefore, are more available. The South, in *any* event, *must* look almost solely to English and Free State demand for her market. The cotton-growing States would be reduced to

beggary—slavery would *eat out* the planters' very life—if cotton were not purchased by England and the Northern States of the Union; and they will be reduced to that state if the British Government should find its supply in India and Africa, or if Algeria can produce enough for European wants, since the demand of New England looms is not great enough, even in the most prosperous times, to consume one-half the amount of raw cotton raised in a good season.

What commercial object, then, has Lord John Russell in *any* recognition of the "Confederate" States? He gains *nothing* to English commerce, to English strength, to English pride. He opens the flood-gates for piracy to a *pseudo* power which has not even the shadow of permanency—which has no *status* in any court in the world—which is, indeed, repulsive in its organic basis to the sentiment of every civilized people on the continent. Some motive must have induced that recognition which is not implied in the miserable excuse that the laws of nations warrants it. Does he wish to see the great Republic dissevered, and, by instating here a kind of Mexican reign of terror, does he hope to reduce the United States to an insignificant power? A very noble ambition, truly, for a "noble lord!" It were only worthy of a petty politician, and will find its stinging rebuke in the quiet contempt with which it will be regarded by the more sagacious Louis Napoleon.

Englishmen: carefully examine your commercial tables and see what proportion of your immense revenues is derived from commerce with the *Northern* States. You will see, at a glance, that, next to the East Indies (*including* Australia) we are your best CUSTOMERS—paying hourly into your coffers argosies of gold, in spite of tariffs and restrictive duties. Study your manufacturers' records, and you will perceive that the *Northern* States of America are gigantic consumers

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of the products of your looms, your shops, your mines, your fingers, your brains. If, to-day, all demand should cease for your goods in the Northern marts of America, do you suppose *any* market available to you in the whole world would replace that loss?

English peers, who have money to buy food and raiment at any price—who live without labor and spend money *they* never earned, can afford, perhaps, to anger their American friends here in the great Free States; but, we are far from believing that the millions of hearts and hands which live well on the profits of their own labor to meet and supply our demands, can at all desire to anger us, and set us to producing *everything* which we now buy from English hands.

The North is great, powerful, rich. Its energies are those of a free and happy people. Its almost illimitable fields of grain can feed the world. Its twenty millions of people are the ablest and surest customers of the working classes in Europe. It is the most profitable market in the world for almost any product of English and French skill. English in language, and style of living, in general and intellectual sympathies, the Englishman is here reproduced—our “Mother Country” is *elaborated*.

Is it kind, is it humane, is it *policy* to take the unnecessary step of alienating such a people, such friends?

We appeal from the Crown, from Ministers, from Peers, to the *People of England* in whose hands their Government is safe—out of whose hands their Government is in peril. 17

7 The American Rebellion, Facts
& Reflections, Victor O.S., pg 97
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